

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 045226

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BR

SUBJECT: LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA CONCERNING THE
SECRETARY'S RECENT TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING CONFIDENTIAL LETTER FROM
THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA:

2. BEGIN QUOTE: DEAR ANTONIO: IN MY LETTER OF FEBRUARY 24
I NOTED THAT I WOULD BE WRITING TO YOU ABOUT MY RECENT TRIP
TO THE MIDDLE EAST. I KNOW THAT YOU ARE FOLLOWING DEVELOP-
MENTS IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD WITH KEEN INTEREST.

3. THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP WAS ESSENTIALLY EXPLORATORY --
TO FOLLOW-UP ON DIPLOMATIC CONSULTATIONS OF RECENT MONTHS
WITH KEY MIDDLE EAST GOVERNMENTS, TO SEE WHETHER A POSSI-
BILITY EXISTS TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER AGREEMENTS IN THE STEP-
BY-STEP PROCESS TOWARD A MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT.

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4. I FOUND THAT SUCH A POSSIBILITY DOES IN FACT EXIST AND THAT THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS I VISITED -- EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND ISRAEL -- WANT US TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS. I THEREFORE PLAN TO RETURN TO THE AREA IN THE

FIRST HALF OF MARCH FOR A MORE INTENSIVE AND CONCRETE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

5. I FOUND GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH OUR VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE -- WHICH WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT AS THE FRAMEWORK AND FORUM FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT -- IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THERE HAD FIRST BEEN ANOTHER CONCRETE STEP ON THE GROUND. IN THE ABSENCE OF THE MOMENTUM SUCH A STEP WOULD GENERATE, WE BELIEVE A RETURN TO GENEVA WOULD LEAD TO ALMOST CERTAIN STALEMATE, WITH ALL THE FRUSTRATIONS AND DANGERS THAT WOULD INVOLVE.

6. THE MAIN ISSUES TO BE DEALT WITH IN THIS ROUND ARE (1) TO RECONCILE EGYPT'S NEED FOR A SIGNIFICANT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL WITH ISRAEL'S NEED FOR RECIPROCAL UNDERTAKINGS BY EGYPT THAT WILL REASSURE ISRAELI OPINION THAT A FURTHER AGREEMENT REPRESENTS A GENUINE MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE; (2) TO REASSURE SYRIA -- AS WE HAVE SOUGHT TO DO -- THAT IT WILL NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS AND THAT THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH IS NOT DESIGNED TO DIVIDE THE ARABS ONE FROM ANOTHER.

7. DURING THE FEW WEEKS BEFORE MY NEXT TRIP, WE HAVE ASKED THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED TO REFLECT HOW THESE ISSUES CAN BE MANAGED. MEANWHILE, WE ARE IN TOUCH WITH THE SOVIETS AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE TO COMPARE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SITUATION AND TO MAKE CLEAR OUR RECOGNITION THAT ANY FINAL SETTLEMENT WILL REQUIRE THE COOPERATION, SUPPORT AND POSSIBLE GUARANTEES FROM BOTH OF US. I MET IN GENEVA WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO FOR THIS PURPOSE.

8. THERE ARE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES AT
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WORK, WHICH INHIBIT FREEDOM OF ACTION OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED. AT SAME TIME, A POWERFUL FACTOR FAVORING FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS THE AWARENESS OF THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE AND OF PROLONGED STALEMATE, NOT ONLY FOR THE REGION BUT FOR THE WORLD.

9. I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU ABOUT MY TRIP PLANS. WITH WARMEST REGARDS. HENRY. END QUOTE. KISSINGER

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